

PARNELLISM UNVEILED

OR

THE LAND-AND-LABOUR
AGITATION
OF
1879-80.

BY

PHILIP HENRY BAGENAL
BARRISTER AT LAW.

DUBLIN
HODGES, FOSTER & FIGGIS,
1880.

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THE IRISH AGITATOR

In Parliament and on the Platform.



OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.



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OF 1879-80,

With an Index.

BY

PHILIP H. BAGENAL, B.A., OXON.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

Author of "The Irish Agitator in Parliament and on the Platform," &c.

DUBLIN:

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FENIANISM, IRISH-AMERICAN JOURNALISM, AND THE LAND AND LABOUR AGITATION.

INTRODUCTION.

IN a former pamphlet* I have endeavoured to lay before the public a history of the Irish Land Agitation of 1879, and I drew some conclusions from that history, as to its origin and scope, which the events of this year have entirely confirmed. I purpose in the following pages to go back a little in the political history of the country, and show, by a chain of facts, how the revolutionary attempts of 1865 and 1867 are connected with the events of the past and the present year. I shall give a short account of Fenianism, and shall, by extracts, show the character of Irish-American Journalism. The tone of these extracts I shall compare with the latest utterances of the leaders of the Land and Labour Agitation, in Ireland. Finally, I shall draw some conclusions which I believe will fully confirm the opinions expressed by Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Cross upon the dangerous aspects of the present crisis.

* "The Irish Agitator in Parliament and on the Platform : a complete History of Irish Politics for the Year 1879." Crown 8vo. Hodges, Foster, and Figgis, Dublin, 1880, pp. 187.

I.—FENIANISM.

The study of the Irish race in America at present is one of peculiar interest, and it is proposed here to deal very shortly with three most important features of this section of the American population. The chief characteristic of the Irish in America has long been the carelessness and indifference with which they have treated the great openings for becoming rooted in American soil. Descended, as most of them are, from men who were exiled from their native home, uprooted from the land which gave them birth, and torn from scenes made pleasant by family ties and hereditary traditions, one would have imagined that the Irish in America would have followed the example of their ancestors, and have settled down upon the land of the great shelter continent. But the contrary is the case; the descendants of the land-loving Irish, under a new sky and a new climate, seem to have imbibed new habits and customs. The Irish in America are a great floating population of migratory labourers. They haunt the great cities. They are the Gibeonites of the Americans, hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are waiters in hotels, menials in American houses, and railroad navvies—sons of toil in any quarter of the United States where broad backs, muscular arms, and good-humoured industry is required. But landowners emphatically they are not. Land seems for them to have no attractions. While Patrick at home is driven well-nigh mad with the longing to be occupier of a few acres of the green sod of Erin, Denis abroad cares no more for a piece of the rich prairie soil of America (which can be had for the asking) than if it were an entirely useless commodity

in the market of the world. It would seem, indeed, as if soil that bore no memories and family traditions was without a charm.

During the civil war between the North and South, the Irish population, following the martial instincts of the Irish race, became conspicuous in the ranks of the American armies. Once the North had asserted its supremacy over the South, and the Confederate States had ceased to exist, the occupation of a large portion of the Irish in America was gone. They had fought with a gallantry and enthusiasm all their own, but they had bled and died for a country which was after all but a stepmother. It was to foster a military sentiment that the Fenian brotherhood was originally formed. The military ardour which still flushed the souls of the Irish rank and file, the military skill which many leaders of Irish extraction had acquired, the military organisation and the military habits, in fact the whole military life, with which a very large section of the American-Irish was impregnated, all these were to be utilized for the purpose of forming a great military combination against English rule in Ireland. The opportunity to all appearances had arrived. The question of Irish naturalization in America, and its power to dissolve the tie of allegiance, was almost sure to involve England and the United States in an armed conflict; added to this was the question of Southern independence. The Fenian leaders watched with breathless interest for the outburst. It seemed to have arrived when the two Confederate Ambassadors, Slidell and Mason, were forcibly taken from the deck of an English ship by the Northern States Government, and when Lord Palmerston had sent out an army to Canada, and, at the same time, had made

a peremptory demand upon the United States Government for the restoration of the Confederate envoys. But the hopes of the American-Irish were not destined to be fulfilled ; there was no actual break in the amicable relations of England and America, and thus there was no English difficulty of sufficient importance to create an Irish opportunity ; but the struggle of the North against the South was the cause of grave troubles in Ireland.

The civil war in America ended in July, 1865, and, thus, a mass of furious Irish, inured to war, finding their occupation gone, and bearing the hatred of enforced exiles to the English, as authors, in their opinion, of the famine which drove them from their country, returned in numerous small parties to Ireland during the year 1866. They were all this time organising insurrection under the orders of the Fenian leaders at New York and Dublin, and a general rising was arranged for the 5th March, 1867. The Commander-in-Chief selected at New York was General Cluseret, a Frenchman naturalized in America, a member of the revolutionary clubs of France, Italy, and Germany, and an able soldier. He served both in the French and American armies.

Next, under him, was Colonel Godfrey Massey, made Lieutenant-General of the Fenian forces.

Cluseret came over, but his practised intelligence showed him at a glance that the Fenian army was, to a great extent imaginary ; and further, that the Irish, so swayed by the priesthood, were not materials for a revolution, being, if bad subjects, only worse rebels. Cluseret instantaneously retired to seek fresh fields and pastures new, and turned up next as leader of a successful rising of the the Reds of Marseilles in the days of the Commune. Thence he came to Paris and was made Minister of War

by the Communists, and on the 19th April, 1871, signed the decree for the pulling down of the Column of the Place Vendome, superintended the demolition on the 16th May, and pronounced the oration over its ruins:— It was to mark, said General Cluseret, the end of those feudal and ancient ideas which made the deeds of soldiers and warriors the most glorious in the world's eye—henceforth, labour was to take the place of valour—work was to be superior to war, and the sword was to yield the place of honour to the shuttle and the spade. His speech was almost in the very words of Prince Albert on opening the great exhibition of London in 1851, curious preludes, both speeches to the events which have intervened. At the fall of the Commune, Cluseret left Paris by the “underground railway,”* leaving his friends to die by the military executioners. It will be well if he is not heard of again.

Lieutenant-General Godfrey Massey, a young man of five and twenty, left America, under the orders of the same Committee, about the same time as Cluseret. An Irishman (his original name being Patrick Condon), he served in the Texas hussars, part of the cavalry of the Southern Confederates, of which he was made Colonel. He was the spurious offspring of one of the Masseys of Doonass. It is plain, from the report of his cross-examination, how deeply he grieved at the exposure of his illegitimacy. He had been lately married, and he sent over his bride before him to Liverpool, preliminary to taking the field. Rejoining her there, he passed through Dublin to Cork, and on the night of the 4th March left

* The expression of the Americans to describe the unaccountable means of how the Negro Slaves escaped from the South to the North.

Cork for the Limerick Junction; having orders to collect his men and mass them there, and await the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, General Cluseret. But an informing party, Corydon, had prepared the Government; and General Massey, on his arrival at midnight at the appointed spot, found himself in the arms of Sir Henry Brownrigg, Director-General of the Constabulary, and a vast body of military and police. He swooned, was carried off prisoner to the Castle of Dublin, and after some confinement in Kilmainham, was induced by his young wife—admitted to him with this design—to save himself, live for her, and give evidence against his comrades.

So ended the first act of the Fenian drama, but the conspiracy survived, and survives to this hour. Two men were subsequently convicted in connection with the Fenian conspiracy, who were destined to play a conspicuous part in the present attempt to excite open disaffection amongst the Irish peasantry. These men were John Devoy and Michael Davitt. Devoy was actively engaged in Dublin seducing soldiers from their allegiance, whilst Davitt was convicted on a charge of levying war against the Queen.

The effect of the failure of the Fenian rising upon the Irish in Ireland, and the Irish in America, was totally different, and well worthy of contrast. Convinced of the absolute impossibility of opposing English bayonets with Irish pikes, the Irish peasantry soon abandoned the wild scheme of insurrection, and the peaceful arts of husbandry soon healed the national wounds which had gaped for a short time under the malevolent influence of Fenian conspirators. The daily routine of agriculture, the interest of a farmer in his crops, the pleasures and social

enjoyment consequent on buying and selling stock, soon dimmed the recollection of midnight drilling and yearnings after a distinct nationality. It was not long before the Irish agriculturist was once more peaceably inclined, for no occupation implants so speedy and effectual a love of peace and order as husbandry and tillage of the soil. Wars are in truth, as much the detestation of farmers as of mothers.

Legislation also stepped in at an opportune moment, broke down the great wall of religious inequality, and gave increased security to the tenant in his holding. So that in spite of herself Ireland became pacified, and her inhabitants peaceable. How different the effect of failure on the Irish-American mind ! Stung to desperation by defeat, goaded into a vindictive desire for revenge, with their leaders in prison, and their highest hopes blasted, the Fenian brotherhood set about some new scheme for the future regeneration of their mother country, forgetful of the change which had come over the minds of the Irish at home. They had but to begin over again. Ireland still, as ever, gave opportunity of mischief, and defeat and detection were only looked upon by the buccaneering leaders as a fresh pretext for renewed hatred against the name of England. For this reason it was more important than ever that civil combination should go hand in hand with the military organisation of the Fenian brotherhood. Accordingly, an alliance was made with what is known in America as the Labour party. Newspapers were started in the interests of the most Radical of the democratic political section. The cause of the Irish tenants was identified with the cause of American labour, and Fenianism joined hands with the most violent advocates of Communism all over the world.

One of the results of this failure of an attempt to regain by force the separation of Ireland from England, is the present land agitation. An examination of the opinions and theories of the real leaders of the movement makes this conclusion inevitable. It is true that between the Fenian rising and the present time there has arisen what is known as the Home Rule movement. The character of the association founded for the advancement of Home Rule was of so complex a description that all its component parts, all the various interests and influences which projected it, will not probably be known until a future generation has arisen. But we may be certain of this, that the Fenians were not unrepresented in it. Federalists, Nationalists, Repealers, Tenant-righters,—all these had their advocates openly amongst the motley crowd that obtained seats under the generalship of Mr. Butt at the ballot boxes of the General Election of 1874. We may rest assured, and the event has proved how true the fact is, that the Fenian party in America have been secretly represented in Parliament, and that their representatives have done good service for the cause of which John Mitchel, James Stephens, and O'Donovan Rossa are the brightest ornaments. But Home Rule as a cry is dead; it has been discredited in the most pointed manner by Mr. Parnell himself and the other chief Land agitators. It may be doubted whether the Home Rule movement was in reality looked upon by the bulk of the people with any real interest. It is quite different with the land question. Here was a subject that came home to them with peculiar force; it was at their very doors; and to hear theories which held out hopes of changing mere tenure into actual ownership was a terrible temptation to

throw common sense to the winds, and join an agitation with such a delightful and beneficial aim.

It must not be imagined, however, that the leaders of the present agitation have no further object than that of obtaining "the land for the people." It is a means to the great end which has been always and is still before the eyes of Irish agitators—namely, the Separation of Ireland from England. Mr. Parnell, at Pittsburg, Pa., made use, by no means for the first time, of expressions which can lead to no other conclusion. Speaking of the determination of the Irish tenant-farmers to own the land, Mr. Parnell said: "We have been guided by the principle that it is better to buy a reform than to fight for it, but for my part, I wish to say I believe in the right of the people of Ireland to own the land; and whether they get it by purchase to-day, or by force of arms to-morrow, it is the duty of every Irishman to devote his best energies to a solution of this great question." The conclusion of Mr. Parnell's speech was in the following terms:—"Six hundred thousand Irish tenants are beginning to find out that they are more powerful than ten thousand landlords; and when we have claimed the land for the people of Ireland, *we shall have laid the foundation-stone for our country to take her place among the nations of the earth.*"

It is very easy to see from language like this that the true object of the land agitation, headed by Mr. Parnell, is almost precisely the same as the objects laid down by the Fenian Brotherhood, and, judging by the last remarks we have quoted, Mr. Parnell, if taxed, could not possibly with any show of consistency disapprove of the action of Fenian traitors. His vision of Ireland in the future is evidently that of an island stripped of a landed

gentry, from which all the upper and most respectable classes have taken flight, governed by such a House of Representatives as his American proclivities lead him to desire, and consisting of such patriots as Messrs. Egan, Brennan, Daly, Davitt, and Killen. With these foundation-stones, and himself the keystone of the whole fabric, Mr. Parnell believes that Ireland will take her place among the nations of the world.

Separated from England, not only by the sea but by an inextinguishable hatred for all her institutions and all her Imperial greatness, his Utopia, in fact, is an Irish democracy, pervaded by Fenianism. All these visionary hopes are far more dangerous than Home Rule.

That Mr. Parnell and his three comrades in Parliament, Biggar, O'Donnell, and O'Connor Power, have the courage of their convictions is perfectly plain; they are mischievous men, and mean to do much more mischief still. It must not be forgotten who Mr. Parnell's friend is who accompanied him to America. Mr. Dillon is the son of John Blake Dillon, who appeared in arms at Ballingarry with Smith O'Brien in 1848, and for whose arrest the Government offered £300 reward. He is by far the most advanced member of the Home Rule League, and was selected to impeach the late Mr. Butt, February 5th, 1879, for inactivity, which he did in a most violent and revolutionary speech. Mr. Dillon has never concealed his sympathies with the Fenian party, and for that reason, doubtless, accompanied Mr. Parnell in his American tour in order to enlist the support of the Fenian Brotherhood.

II.—IRISH-AMERICAN JOURNALISM.

So much, then, for the opinions, the aims, and the objects of the most advanced section of Irish politicians. The primary object of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon's visit to the United States was the sustainment of the Irish national Land movement ; and they have appealed to ten millions of the Irish race in America to aid in a political agitation, and they had doubtless good ground for believing that they would be listened to with a very considerable amount of attention. How far the Irish race in America are interested in the affairs of their native land may very fairly be gathered from the Irish-American Press. Here we may find printed, published, and widely circulated the opinions of the millions whom Mr. Parnell has been addressing. Probably the most advanced of the Irish-American journals is the *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*. It is a large double-sheeted newspaper, with a well-executed cartoon on the outer sheet. The greatest prominence is given to a letter from London, signed "Transatlantic," the tenor of whose productions is of the most revolutionary character. There is also a telegram sent weekly by cable from Dublin to the *Irish World* by Michael Davitt, the originator of the Land agitation in Ireland. He is a Special Correspondent and the accredited agent of the paper in Ireland. Davitt is the founder of the National Land League—an institution which may be said to be the temple of Irish democracy, to the erection of which the

Irish World has in a great degree contributed. As gall is to vitriol, so is the *Nation* (the most violent national paper published in Ireland) to the *Irish World*. The *Nation* roars like a sucking-dove as compared with the thunder and lightning of this imported literature ; for imported it is, week after week, into Ireland. The circulation is large, and the demand so exceeds the supply that a day after its arrival from America it is impossible to obtain a copy. The general tone, as will be seen, agrees in all points with the doctrines propounded so zealously during the past year upon the political platform erected at Irishtown, in the county of Mayo, on the 20th April. A very brief study of this species of Irish-American journalism suffices to give us the clue to the political attitude of its readers and writers towards Ireland and England. That attitude, it is hardly necessary to state, is one of uncompromising hostility to the Government of England, and is valuable as an index to the feeling towards the English nation of a great and growing section of the American nation. And after what has been stated of the characteristics of the Irish race in America, the study of this unique description of journalism becomes more and more necessary.

Some extracts from the *Irish World*, taken from copies which have arrived in Ireland between June, 1879, and March, 1880, will be quite sufficient to show the intimate connection between Fenianism and the Land and Labour agitation. In every issue of this paper prominence is given to what is called the National Fund, of which some notice has been taken in the English and Irish press from time to time. It is composed of subscriptions chiefly from the Irish in America, and its objects are pretty well laid down in the following manner :—

"THE NATIONAL FUND.**"MAXIMS FOR SKIRMISHERS.**

"HUMANE WARFARE.—The shortest, swiftest, and cheapest warfare—that which does the greatest material damage to the enemy with the least loss of life to either side—is the most humane warfare.

"A COMMON-SENSE VIEW OF IT.—The first and last thing to be considered in war is SUCCESS. Every act that looks to this end is justifiable and honourable. Do nothing in bad blood. Nothing in pure malice. But every act likely to inflict material damage on England and give strength and prestige to the Irish cause—every act that will open England's eyes and make her feel that it does not PAY to hold Ireland—will be approved by common sense. The Irish leader who does not keep this principle in sight should abdicate his leadership.

"IRELAND AND AMERICA.—'The wrongs of which America had to complain (in 1776) were but mosquito bites by the side of the enormous injuries which had been inflicted by English selfishness on the trade and manufactures of Ireland. Why was Ireland to submit when America was winning admiration by resistance? Why, indeed, save that America was in earnest; the Irish were not.'—*Froude*.

"ENGLAND'S MODE OF WARFARE.—What is it? Ask the biographer of Cromwell. Ask the Kookas of India. Ask the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Listen:—

'She has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, BURNT OUR TOWNS, and destroyed the lives of our people.'

This is the testimony of the men of '76. Ask the American historian of the war of 1812. Ask the Ashantees how England made war upon them. Ask every unfortunate people upon whom England has ever breathed her unwholesome breath, and in whose midst her ruffian soldiery have planted her robber flag. The answer is all the same.

"JUSTICE, NOT VENGEANCE.—Peace is the natural and proper state of man. No rational being ever yet wanted war for war's own sake. The men who originated the Skirmishing Movement are lovers of Peace. Whatever villifiers may say to the contrary, this is the truth. But Peace, to be enduring, must have its foundation in Right and Justice. Such is not the 'peace of Warsaw.' Now, the question is: Does England in sincerity desire Peace? If she does she can have it. Let her but restore their plundered rights to the Irish people to-morrow, and there is an end to it. All ill-feeling shall be

put away. Not a word more shall ever be said of her seven centuries of crimes. If we cannot FORGET, we shall at least endeavour to forgive, the past. It is not Vengeance we seek : it is JUSTICE."

This is the first extract from the *Irish World* to which attention should be directed. The Special Correspondent of this paper in Dublin is Michael Davitt.

After these maxims come letters from subscribers ; and here, again, a few specimens indicate the feeling of the supporters of the paper :—

"A SKIRMISHER OF THE RIGHT SORT.

"JEFFERSON CITY, MO.—Enclosed please find \$10. This remittance makes \$100 from me to this fund, and God knows my hardships in scraping it together. Not for love of Irishmen would I make the least sacrifice, for they are proud, disdainful, full of pomp, vainglory, always riding on the shoulders of their poor countrymen to get office, and after they get it they will show how fit they are for trust by persecuting and robbing those who put them in a position to do so. But hatred to the Robber of Nations, who has poisoned the whole world with her iniquity, has taken possession of all her covetous eye can see, that bribes rulers and pastors, and forms rings within rings that she may rob, deprave, and confiscate in the name of God and civilisation with confidence. There are a few exceptions in Irishmen. Both priests and laity, they are few. You are on the right track ; carry the war into Africa. Destruction is the motto. Burn up, pull down all cities ; they are a cover for all evil doings, as the bush is a cover for the tiger, leopard, lion, and all ferocious beasts. The time is short, it is at the door, or all prophecies and traditions are at an end. Let every man be like unto Samson's foxes, armed with dynamite. Carry fire and destruction among the Philistines. I am weary ; I could say a great deal more, but will conclude, hoping in God that the tyrant's reign is at an end. True to justice and Ireland, I remain yours,

"JEREMIAH COLLINS."

"NO SURRENDER ! NO COMPROMISE !

"ROCKAWAY BEACH, L. I.—Herewith please find the names of a few admirers of the Skirmishing System. The list was canvassed for in part by a staunch old Fenian, Mr. Charles McCoy, who was with Gen. Spear and his brave boys at the taking of Slab City, Canada, in '76, and is now ready and willing, at any time, to join

true men in any raid, anywhere, to strike an effective blow on the greatest enemy of the human race the world has ever seen, and that is the ARISTOCRACY OF ENGLAND :—

Chas. McCoy, Monaghan, \$1.00	M. Degnan, B'klyn, N.Y., \$1.00
J. D. McAnulty, Donegal, 1.00	P. Downie, New York ... .50
Thomas Morely, N. Y. ... 1.00	D. McMahon, New York, .50
John Sheridan, N. Y. ... 1.00	Carpenter, New York ... 1.00
Pat. Corrigan, B'klyn, N.Y. 1.00	
	<hr/> \$1.00

"N.B.—The motto of the above subscribers is, 'Equal Rights and Duties! No surrender! No Compromise! Total Separation!'
"J. D. McANULTY."

"MONEY TO BUY BULLETS.

"TRENTON, N. J.—Please find enclosed \$11 to help to swell the Skirmishing Fund, and its the sincere wish of the donors that these eleven dollars would be spent in eleven leaden bullets to go through the hearts of eleven non-resident landlords or enemies of Irish liberty."

"TO BUY CROWBARS FOR THE LANDLORDS.

"GORDON, PA.—Enclosed you will find P. O. Order for the amount of seven dollars (\$7) for the National Fund, to buy crowbars for the dear old landlords of Ireland, subscribed by a few Irishmen."

Then comes the sum total received and acknowledged in the following manner :—

"New York, Feb. 9, 1880.

"Received from Augustine Ford \$156.02 [last week's acknowledgment], which amount has been lodged in bank, and placed to the credit of the Irish National Fund.

"JOHN J. BRESLIN.

"JOHN DEVROY.

"THOMAS F. BOURKE.

"THOMAS C. LUBY.

"SUMMARY.

"Already acknowledged and receipted for	\$85,541.64
"This week	584.25
	<hr/> \$86,125.19

"AUGUSTINE FORD, Secretary."

The names are worth noticing. John Devoy, as we have already mentioned, was one of the most active members of the Fenian Brotherhood, and entered the British Army for the purpose of seducing the soldiers from their allegiance. Since Mr. Parnell has been in America he has been in close connexion and correspondence with Devoy. Thomas F. Bourke is a convicted and attainted traitor: convicted and attainted of High Treason, for attempting to dethrone the Queen, and to raise an Irish Republic on the ruins of the Monarchy. He headed the Fenian outbreak in Tipperary, on the 5th of March, 1867; appeared in the field at the Old Danish Fort of Ballyhurst, mounted (for he is lame,) distributing a cart-load of pikes and muskets among the crowd, who fired on some soldiers of the 31st Regiment; then instantly fled, leaving their lame leader to his fate. For this horrible crime he was tried at Dublin on 27th April, 1867, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged, beheaded, drawn, and quartered, but his life was spared, and he was only lately released from perpetual penal servitude. Thomas Clarke Luby is well known as having been Editor of the *Irish People*, and was convicted in 1865, was found guilty of treason felony, and condemned to penal servitude for a period of twenty years.

These are the men with whom Michael Davitt is in daily communication by letter or cable, and such are the chosen friends of Mr. Parnell in America.

The foundation of the *Irish World* probably dates from the liberation of some of the Fenian prisoners. At all events it professes to have founded the Anti-rent agitation, and takes credit to itself for having commenced "the great Land war, the most resplendent of its triumphs," boasts this print, "especially the *Irish World's*

victory." For eight years it declares that it has laboured incessantly to bring on the Anti-Land-law agitation. In what light that Land agitation is looked upon may be gathered from the following passage from the issue of 30th August, 1879 :—

"THE GOOD WORK.

"So far as the scope of our observation extends, there has never yet been a time in the history of Irish Revolutionary organizations when the men consecrated to the Liberation of their Motherland were more zealous in the cause, more harmonious in council, more intelligently active, less solicitous for 'leadership,' or more animated by a profound sense of duty in the prosecution to a final and successful issue of the holy work—is it not a holy work?—which they have now in hand.

"And for this most satisfactory state of things three names—JOHN DEVOY, JOHN J. BRESLIN, and Dr. CARROLL—deserve especial thanks.

"Ireland has other good and excellent sons working faithfully in her cause; but these three men—CARROLL, BRESLIN, and DEVOY—impress us as men that have made a covenant, each with himself, to sink all other considerations, and to render every purpose entirely subservient to this one aspiration of their existence.

"Never did we feel more confident than now of the ultimate success of Ireland's standard.

"And what we rest our solid hope upon is the fact that a *good beginning* has been made.

"'First know you're right,' was the sensible advice of SAM SLICK, 'then go ahead!'

"THE IRISH REVOLUTION AT LAST LOOKS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

"Fenianism saw only a Green Flag—a very good thing in its place, but not the *only* thing needed by the Irish people.

"THE MEN OF TO-DAY HAVE DISCOVERED THERE IS SUCH A THING AS LAND, AND THAT EVERY MAN BORN INTO THE WORLD WITHIN THE SEA-GIRT MARGIN OF IRELAND HAS AN *inalienable right* to a MAN'S SHARE OF THAT LAND.

First *Light*, then *Action*. This is the programme of our day."

Messrs. Devoy, Breslin, and Carroll were the men who welcomed Mr. Parnell on his arrival in America, and he has been in constant communication with them ever since.

The theories of rent, which have been so industriously preached in Ireland during the last year, are laid down as follows :—

“THE SECRET OF SLAVERY.

“The reader will please bear in mind the ground which we have gone over up to this time. *Usury covers every transaction among men where the income of an individual is not exactly measured by a labor service rendered.*

“LAND USURY.

“We first considered the subject of RENT, where the individual claiming the proprietorship of lands and houses secures an income for which he renders no labour equivalent. After giving the *rentier* a fair and complete hearing, I showed him to be a robber, living in luxury on the toil of useful people, and armed by statute law with infinite capacities for plunder.

“Please label RENT in this analysis of slavery as *land usury*.

“MONEY USURY.

“The next division of incomes-without-work we have considered under the head of INTEREST. When barter was supplanted by certificates or tokens of indebtedness known as money, the proprietor perpetuated his plunder by claiming the right to levy on Labour, by virtue of owning the land representative (money). In this claim he is perfectly consistent, if you concede his original claim to ownership in the soil. The original act of plunder, if acquiesced in, sanctions the rest. Any man who does not believe in interest, and yet admits the right of property in God’s soil, knocks down his own house.

“Please label INTEREST, the second great form of industrial plunder, as *money usury*.

“TRADE USURY.

“We now come to the third and last great form of Usury, known as Speculative Profits. Land usury is a despotic levy on Labour by virtue of ‘owning’ what is generally called *real property*. Money usury is an immoral and unwarranted levy, by virtue of owning the circulating medium, which may represent all things. Speculative Profits is a levy by virtue of owning and controlling the multitude of things which circulate in trade.

“Please label, then, this last form of plunder as *trade usury*.

“We have then these three comprehensive forms of Usury ; viz., LAND USURY, MONEY USURY, and TRADE USURY. Every kind

of income which is not secured by honest labour may be traced to one or the other, or all of these three pillars, on which the Temple of Mammon is built.

"This trinity of iniquity, in its entirety, is what I mean by Usury. A complete understanding of the vast and complicated machinery by which the tri-une engine of spoliation is kept in murderous motion, is the real SECRET OF SLAVERY."

This is the stream of journalism from which Michael Davitt has drawn those theories of Land-and-Labour which he has been so industriously propagating.

It is easy now also to see from what sources the minor Land agitators have derived the astounding doctrines they have so lately propounded. The cause of "labour and humanity," upon which Messrs. Davitt and Brennan are so exceedingly eloquent, is in fact the mainspring of all the writing in the *American Industrial Liberator*. "I preach a new civilisation," thunders out "Transatlantic" from an attic in Soho. "That which exists is abominable. The fiat of God is gone forth. Human thought has carried it from nation to nation :—'The labourer shall no more support the idler, under any pretence whatever.'"

The Irish-American Fenians, in such utterances as these, are quite fit to unite with the Communists of Paris, the Socialists of Germany, and the Secret Societies of Russia.

Now let us see how Mr. Parnell was received by the *Irish World*. The name of O'Donovan Rossa is not likely to be associated with any idea of loyalty to England. In a long letter to the *Irish World* he gives the following estimate of Parnell :—

"Parnell is a good fellow. I believe in him. He has his mission; and if I am not mistaken, has the courage to bear him through it. The Irish nation has for him a duty to perform if he will undertake it; and I believe he will. Ireland at home stands

by him on the Land Question. Now what ought Ireland in America to do? Parnell, on his arrival, ought to be met in New York, or, better still, in Philadelphia, by a conference of one thousand men, representing the Irish people in every State of the Union. Every city in North America ought to send on its representatives. They ought to take with them an estimate of the men they represent, and at least \$1 *per capita* from every man represented, aggregating, at least, 100,000 men and \$100,000. Let that Convention frame the demand of the Irish people in America :—

“*Resolved*, That the land of Ireland belongs to its people.

“*Resolved*, We want it.

“*Resolved*, We will have it.

“*Resolved*, We authorise Mr. C. S. Parnell to demand it on terms which, in no event, must exceed the probable cost of making its occupation unprofitable to the present trespassing occupants.

“*Resolved*, That we stand ready to back up this demand with every dollar we own, our miserable exiled lives, and our hope of immortality (if to do this is a crime theologically).

“*Resolved*, That the cry of ‘Communist,’ ‘strolling agitator,’ or other epithet, shall not interfere with our determination to have our own.

“*Resolved*, That every man, whether he be peer or priest, parson or peeler, who, with pen or tongue, in act or deed, denies our right to secure our own in our own way, is an enemy of the Irish people, and deserves the treatment due to a selfish, dishonourable enemy.

“*Resolved*, That we will now return to our respective homes to organise the Irish people in America, and to raise a fund of a million dollars while Mr. Parnell is presenting our demand.

“*Resolved*, That the refusal of our demand means war.

“*Resolved*, That so-called ‘honourable’ warfare is ‘played out.’

“Let this Convention or Conference be called by a meeting of a score or so of leading Irish Nationalists, editors, and priests, and capitalists (if they will). Let a similar Conference be held in Ireland. Invite all Irishmen of all creeds and classes to be represented. Let the motto be ‘business.’ This would look like business—the demand of one nation upon another, backed up by force (without which there is no nation).

“No bluster, no bravado, no humbug. But the *cool, dark, deep, asperate resolve*; and behind that resolve the positive understanding that the refusal of the demand means *war*—honourable and dishonourable as it suits us, FIRE AND SWORD, BUT CHIEFLY FIRE. Every man, alone or in groups, to commence it on every spot of earth where English power or English property confronts an Irishman.”

This advice of Rossa's has been fully acted upon, at all events as far as a warm welcome is evidence of it. The Fenians have embraced Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Parnell has reciprocated their sentiments, as will be seen later on.

But this is not all. In an article, dated 21st February, 1880, after the arrival of Mr. Parnell, headed "Ireland leading the Nations," we may gain some notion of the character which Mr. Parnell holds in the eyes of the Irish-Americans. We give it in full:—

"At no period since William the Conqueror, sword in hand, held England by the throat, divided up her lands among his followers, and enslaved the people to the dictates of his will, has England and her institutions, England and her robberies, England and her ages of outrage, been in greater danger than to-day.

"That her dominion reaches round the world, and her brigandage over the continent, diminishes, rather than strengthens, her power to resist the storm everywhere culminating into universal hatred of her oppressions. *To-day Ireland* appeals to mankind, and enters her protest against the tyrannical insolence of British rule. *To-day America listens to the representative of Ireland in the Halls of Congress.* Every city, village, and hamlet between the oceans is active in sympathy with the great cause of which he is the representative here to-day before America. It is not that Ireland is starving for bread, for the warm hearts of millions will not see her people starve, as England permitted them to starve in 1847, when she was feasting on her products and speculating on famine. *It is that Ireland is manacled by oppressors, that she is subjugated by oligarchic power, and starved of her rights.* It is that England has robbed her of her soil, crippled her manhood, desolated her homes, murdered her patriots, proscribed her friends, and gives her but a leasehold existence on the land God, nature, and centuries dedicated to Ireland and to Irishmen.

"*To-day* the Irishman is disinherited from his birth-right by Land Pirates, whose title-deeds were written in blood at Drogheda. *To-day England*, by usurpation more damnable than ever disgraced the records of man, by armed force, keeps Irishmen from the enjoyment of their home, their country, and their lives. For four centuries she has robbed, plundered, and driven the Irishman from the land and the fruits of the land. She has made him a slave to her arrogance, a prisoner to her power, and a brow-beaten subject to her oppression. *Ireland to-day* raises her manacled arms to the

heavens and to the nations of the earth, and would make her appeal to God and to man to break the chains which bind her.

"To-day, as never before, mankind see Ireland as she is. They see that her soil is parcelled out to non-resident sharks and resident vampires, who live in extravagant idleness and debauchery on the fruits won from it by tenant slaves, whose ancestors were murdered or driven into exile to make place for favourites of kingly power, or to Ministers of queenly parasites. The tenant of Ireland was robbed of his inheritance by military brigandage. He has been kept from his inheritance by military power; he is now a tenant by force. In the name of God and the right of man, and of justice, and of common humanity, he now demands to be reinstated in the rights which have been robbed from him!

"*Monopoly of the soil* is the foundation of the Aristocracy of England. The throne of England rests on the aristocratic monopolists of England. For centuries England has been the Robber of Nations, of liberties, and of men. She has murdered all she could not subdue, if too weak to resist her power, and enslaved all who submitted to her greed. But the day of her reckoning is not far off. A few thousand lords claim title to her soil—they monopolize it. Thirty-six millions of her people are in rebellion. The world telegraphs to the world that Land Monopoly is the cause of human want, human degradation, and human misery everywhere. Humanity has heard the appeal. Her orators, her thinkers, and her workers have been in council. Land Monopoly must cease.

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

is the apostle who to-day, as he ascends into the altitude of his opportunity, heralds aloud to the world the dawn of that *universal brotherhood in landed rights* which time is as certain of crowning with success as patriots, warriors, and men are to overthrow the oppressors of the earth.

"There is nothing we hope so much as his successful nationalization of Landed Reform. No man could ever have wakened so widely, so deeply, and so generally the heart of any people as he has wakened the hearts, the wills, and the patriotism of Irishmen and Americans, but by being accepted as the leader of a great thought, and as the concentrated embodiment of a great Reform. The great cities have welcomed him with ovations such as no man has received since Lafayette was welcomed as the child of the Revolution he battled into victory, and as the patriot hero of two hemispheres. The smaller cities, villages, towns, and the people from every palatial home and from every cottage fireside have sent him greeting, sympathy, money, to aid—what? *Not Landlordism, not Monopolies in Land, not tyrannies in Government, not England. No! Not one of these.* BUT IRELAND IN HER MARTYRDOM; IRELAND TO BREAK THE BONDS OF LANDLORD RULE;

IRELAND TO PROCLAIM EQUALITY OF RIGHT IN IRISHMEN TO THE LAND OF IRELAND, *and mankind in defiant demand that all Monopoly in Land shall cease for ever.*

"The great mass of the English people demand it, and they will not be silent.

"The great mass of the American people demand it, and they will never cease agitating and agitating until they have broken up and broken down every barrier to the universal right of the universal people to their inheritance to God's soil, the earth and the fruits thereof.

"STEPHEN D. DILLAYE.

"UNIONTOWN, *February, 1880.*"

Such is the attitude of the Irish-American journalists towards Mr. Parnell. Some extracts from that gentleman's speeches will give us a fair idea of the manner in which he is playing his cards to gain Fenian money and Fenian influence in support of the Land movement at home. On nearly every occasion Mr. Parnell hints at physical force. He is continually saying that every Irishman should be ready to shed his blood for his country's sake, and he is perpetually laying down that a time may come when the Irish-Americans may aid in separating Ireland from England. So much has Mr. Parnell been speaking in this strain, that the *New York Herald* went so far as to accuse him of preaching treason, no doubt alluding to the speeches which we are about to quote. The *Herald*, in its issue of Feb. 20th, has the following editorial comment upon Mr. Parnell:—"His mission in America has sunk from what we call a 'boom' into a 'fizzle,' and he should have been glad of so honourable a retreat from a position of thickening discomforts. But he has made his choice, and must abide by it. He ought to have returned to Ireland 'for sweet charity's sake,' and have endeavoured to re-establish himself in the good opinion

of the world, instead of stalking around this country preaching treason against the Government of his native land." The following passages from some of Mr. Parnell's speeches are probably those which have given occasion to the *New York Herald* for its damaging remarks. Mr. Parnell, at Cleveland, on January 26th, thus began:—

"I have said that we are fighting this battle against heavy odds. I have also said that we feel confident of winning it. It has given me great pleasure during my visit to the cities of this country to see the armed regiments of Irishmen who have frequently turned out to escort us; and when I saw some of these gallant men to-day, who are even now in this hall, I thought that each one of them must wish with Sarsfield of old, when dying upon a foreign battlefield, "O, THAT I COULD CARRY THESE ARMS FOR IRELAND!" (Great applause.) Well, IT MAY COME TO THAT SOME DAY OR OTHER. The peaceable and proper solution of the question that has been roughly put to one side by the British Government, as it has so frequently put aside measures of reform for Ireland, but if things are allowed to continue as they are in that country I cannot help seeing that some day or other *the time will come when the landlords and Government will get very much sharper and worse terms from somebody else.* (Great applause.) At present our people are in an unarmed and defenceless condition. Any man found with a gun in his house in Ireland suffers imprisonment for two years with hard labour. England neither dares to trust us with our constitution nor with the rights of freemen, and amongst the first of those rights is the right to carry arms. In Ireland we have never enjoyed that right. We have been told that we enjoy the benefit of the constitution there, but whenever it is necessary we see very quickly that those benefits are suspended. If any political agitation threatens to become formidable, even though it be of a constitutional and peaceable character, the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended, and the leaders are thrust into prison right and left, and kept there without trial. That is the way the Government of England meets a constitutional and peaceable movement."

Mr. Parnell, at Rochester, said:—

"We have proposed a constitutional and peaceful plan of solution. As an Irishman I am bound to say that EVERY IRISHMAN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SHED THE LAST DROP OF HIS BLOOD IN ORDER TO OBTAIN SUCH A SOLUTION. Yet at the same time it would be criminal to hurl the unarmed and defenceless people on the points of British bayonets in a hopeless struggle. In order to make you acquainted with what is being done in the nineteenth century by the

authority of the Queen of England, I cannot do better than to call a witness who will not be accused of prejudice. I refer to the *New York Herald* (hisses), which has taken the landlords' side of the question, which is a very much harder task than the discovery of Livingstone. I very much regret that any American journal should so disgrace itself in trying to enlist public sympathy on the side of oppression. Mythology tells of one Sisyphus, who was a very wicked man, and when he died and went to hell he was condemned to roll a huge stone up a hill, and as often as he reached the top the stone crashed back to the starting-point, carrying Sisyphus with it. The best punishment for the *New York Herald*, when it goes to the lower regions, WOULD BE TO SEND THE IRISH LAND SYSTEM AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH IT."

At Pittston, on 16th February, 1880, Mr. Parnell said :—

"I wish here to remark, and I am proud to say it, that almost the first contribution that reached Ireland from any quarter before I came over, was £51 sent from your little city, Jan. 6th. You have given largely of your means, but if you help to keep these people alive through the winter, we shall kill the cursed Land System. (Cheers.) I promise on our side to fight this battle as pluckily as you can wish. (Loud applause.) Up to this time, the Landlords and Government have failed to give assistance, but the fiendish work of eviction is still pursued, BUT FROM THE BLOOD OF THE BRAVE CONNEMARA WOMEN WHO RESISTED THE HOME DESTROYERS, SHALL SPRING UP A POWER WHICH WILL SWEEP AWAY NOT ONLY THE LAND SYSTEM, BUT THE INFAMOUS GOVERNMENT THAT MAINTAINS IT." (Cheers.)

At Cincinatti, on the 23rd of the same month, Mr. Parnell continued in the same strain :—

"THAT WORK IS GOING TO SUCCEED.

"Justice, and the many against injustice, and the few must win. (Applause.) With your help in keeping our people alive this winter, I feel confident *we shall kill the Irish Landlord system.* (Applause.) *And when we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish Nation.* (Loud applause.) The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner-stone of English misrule. Pull out that corner-stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment. (Applause.) When we have undermined English misgovernment, we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place among

the nations of the earth. (Applause.) And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. NONE OF US—WHETHER WE IN AMERICA OR IN IRELAND ; OR WHEREVER WE MAY BE—WILL BE SATISFIED UNTIL WE HAVE DESTROYED THE LAST LINK WHICH KEEPS IRELAND BOUND TO ENGLAND.” (Applause.)

What, then, is the net result of this examination of Irish American journalism? We find a large and ably conducted paper, edited by four (or three of them at least) convicted Fenian traitors, all openly and avowedly enemies to the English Government, which is widely circulating in Ireland. It has its correspondents in London and Dublin. Devoy, one of the editors, was the author of the letter to the *Freeman*, at the end of 1878, which contained the announcement of the new manner in which the Fenian conspiracy was to be conducted. In the next part of this pamphlet the conduct of this conspiracy, under its new name, “The Land and Labour Agitation,” is fully detailed. Michael Davitt was sent over from the *Irish World* to carry out the new conspiracy. He is now the Special Correspondent in Dublin of that paper, and has been, since last April, the trusted lieutenant of Mr. Parnell, whom he had the honour of bringing over to his side of the National Party. The *Irish World* has taken up Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Parnell, to all practical purposes, is now a Fenian. If any one doubts this let him read carefully the four speeches given above, and judge for himself. In fact, the *Irish World* has been educating the various leaders of the Land and Labour agitation with great success. Mr. Parnell said, in an interview in New York, that part of the money which he obtained for political purposes might be usefully employed in paying the expenses of many talented and devoted young men, who would be only too glad to

apply themselves to the "education of the people." These young gentlemen are, doubtless, themselves being educated by the Special Correspondent of the *Irish World*, and we expect to hear, in the course of the next few months, many eloquent harangues after the manner of Mr. Brennan. It is a matter worth consideration how far the circulation of newspapers published beyond the jurisdiction of the Government should be permitted, when their contents breathe fire and sword against the Queen, and openly preach High Treason among the people. The days of Fenian journalism in Ireland are over ; but the contrivance by which the Fenian journalists have managed to elude seizure and prosecution is skilful, and presents almost an international problem. The curious fact remains, that the paper we have described can be bought for two-pence in any quarter of Dublin, and in all the principal towns in Ireland. It is yet to be seen whether any steps will be taken to prevent this class of literature from being disseminated amongst the inflammable and easily-deluded Irish peasantry.

III.--THE LAND-AND-LABOUR AGITATION.

THE origin of the Land-and-Labour agitation in Ireland is perfectly clear to anyone who has taken the trouble to make himself acquainted with the contents of the Irish daily newspapers. But one of the great drawbacks to the utility of the daily press is the general forgetfulness of the contents of yesterday's issue. It can only be owing to this forgetfulness on the part of the public in general that there is so little known of the real wire-pullers of the agitation which has convulsed Ireland during the past year. In England the ignorance of the birth and growth of this agitation must naturally be still greater. The contents of the Irish press are but little known and little heeded there. The Irish correspondents of English papers merely send over such items of intelligence as they imagine will interest the ordinary English public, or jump with the political opinions of the journals to which they contribute information. Contemporary history, therefore, of Irish affairs is practically unattainable by English readers, and accordingly it is not surprising that a very considerable amount of curiosity is displayed in Great Britain to obtain reliable information as to the true causes of the distress and the agitation in Ireland.

One of the primary, and certainly the most innocent, causes of the distress under which Ireland is at present labouring is climate. Ever since the year 1877 the United Kingdom has been suffering from cold summers and generally wet seasons. The result has been bad crops, and consequent depression in agricultural busi-

ness. The staple industry in Ireland has been always agriculture, and the depression, as a necessary consequence, has been more severely felt than in England or Scotland. It is not intended here to enter into figures with a view to contrasting the comparative state of agricultural depression in Ireland and Great Britain; we shall be contented with showing, by statistics gathered from Thom's Directory, 1880, page 694, that since 1877 there has been a marked decrease in the growth and value of a great staple crop of the country, potatoes. The statistics now given can be verified by anyone who chooses to read. First, let us see what is the loss of Ireland as a whole.

VALUE OF POTATO CROP AT ESTIMATED AVERAGE
PRICE OF SIXTY SHILLINGS PER TON.

YEAR.	VALUE.	AVERAGE OF SIX YEARS.	VALUE BELOW AVERAGE OF SIX YEARS.
	£	£	£
1871	8,381,000	9,251,000	
1872	5,417,000		
1873	8,049,000		
1874	10,655,000		
1875	10,539,000		
1876	12,464,000		
1877	5,272,000		3,989,000
1878	7,580,000		1,671,000
1879	4,625,000		4,626,000

The tenement valuation of the land of Ireland is only £11,000,000, and therefore the loss of £4,626,000 is a tremendous item, and the loss of three years in succession, £10,286,000, or more than a whole year's crop, is a loss the importance of which can hardly be overrated

in considering the effect upon the agricultural population. But when to this loss in the potato crop is added the loss in the oat crop, the other staple of Connaught, we find ourselves at once at the root of the attempt at revolution at present going on in that province, for revolution it is, though happily at present without bloodshed. The most convenient method of showing the state of the crops is in a Table :—

CONNAUGHT.

AVERAGE UNDER POTATOES.

YEAR.					ACRES.
1877	...	...	...	...	188,932.
1878	...	...	...	...	182,130.
1879	...	...	..	...	178,217.

AVERAGE UNDER OATS.

1877	...	...	...	...	195,889.
1878	...	...	...	...	190,849.
1879	...	...	...	...	179,903.

So much for the province in general. Let us see how Mayo fared in particular, the largest county of Connaught, the seat of the present disaffection, the headquarters of disloyalty and sedition.

MAYO, 1,318,129 Acres.

AVERAGE UNDER POTATOES.

YEAR.					ACRES.
1877	...	...	...	...	61,609.
1877	...	...	...	...	60,060.
1879	...	...	...	...	38,016.

AVERAGE UNDER OATS.

1877	...	...	...	...	68,590.
1878	...	...	...	...	68,240.
1879	...	...	...	...	65,294.

TOTAL EXTENT UNDER CROPS.

1877	...	...	...	...	191,471.
1878	...	...	...	...	192,247.
1879	...	...	...	...	186,393.

From these figures we find that for the past two years less and less land has been under tillage in Connaught, but particularly in Mayo. The figures bearing upon the potato crop are most important, because it must always be remembered that upon this potato crop depends largely the existence of hundreds of thousands of Irish farmers and labourers, especially in the province of Connaught, with which principally we have to do. Here the pinch has been felt more than in any other province; here the Land-and-Labour agitation had its origin; it is here that the distress is most dire and the destitution most appalling. It has been shown by the returns quoted that in Connaught year by year less oats and less potatoes have been sown. The climax came last year. In round numbers there were 16,000 acres less under oats than in 1877; 10,000 less under potatoes—though the population certainly has not decreased; and so we find that in 1879, according to the Local Government Board Inspector's Report, although the oat crop was said to be good and plentiful, the potato crop did not produce more than half the average amount. In Connaught, therefore, we have it that half the potato crop, of an acreage less by 16,000 acres than 1877, is half lost.

Now let us glance at the character of the population of a large part of Connaught, especially that portion where the Land-and-Labour agitation has been most fierce, and the language and action of the inhabitants most violent. That population consists in a very large measure of migratory labourers—a class almost peculiar to Ireland. In 1879, 20,000 men went from Connaught to England to work as labourers on English farms, of which 15,000 were from Mayo. Contrasted with 1878,

these numbers show a great falling off, no less than 20,000 men from Mayo alone having gone across the Channel in search of employment that year. There was a further fall in 1879 of 2,000 from the rest of the province, thus making in all 7,000 men, whose employment in England was stopped in 1879. This—taking an eminent statistician's estimate of £14 10s. a man to cover wages brought home and cost of food and clothes in England—represents for 7,000 men £100,000 less English wages earned by Connaught labourers in 1879 than in 1878. As to the 20,000 men who did go to England last year, their wages at the same rate would amount to £300,000. Whatever the correct estimate may be, the loss of wages was very great last year. If we strike a mean, and take half of the estimate of £14 10s. per man as the probable loss, and adding the £150,000 so lost to the £100,000 lost by the 7,000 who did not get over to England at all, we find ourselves face to face with a terrible deficit. In fact, as appears by these calculations, which are those of one of the highest authority—the enormous sum of a quarter million of money was lost to Connaught last year from the source of English labour alone.

Such has been the effect of foreign competition on the Western population of Ireland. For years the spalpeens of Connaught have been reaping golden harvests for themselves and their English employers, journeying to and fro between England and Ireland. As long as wages were good, and there was English capital to employ Connaught labour, there was no murmuring heard in the West, no mutterings of the Land for the People. And this, notwithstanding bad crops and bad climate since 1877. But directly the stream of English cash

ceased coursing into the pockets of these migratory Connaught men, it became evident the out-look was almost hopeless. The realisation of the stoppage of English wages first became apparent last March. It is in that month the Irish of Connaught begin to leave for England, and the flow of them goes on gradually increasing week after week, more or less, according to the accounts sent home of the extent of employment. Bad news came back very quickly last year, and we now know that the men of Mayo had the first presage of their fate in March, and were fully aware of it in June.

We thus find that not only has the potato crop, one of the mainstays of the Connaught Irish, for the last three years in Connaught, as elsewhere, been growing smaller and smaller, but that it was last year half lost ; that English wages, another of the great sources of their actual sustenance, had been growing less and less valuable every year, and the prospect of them in 1879 almost nothing.

It must be evident to those who can draw conclusions, and appreciate cause and effect, that the distress now evident in Ireland has been produced principally by climate and bad crops. It is important to keep this in mind in approaching the Land-and-Labour Agitation question. That agitation had its origin in the distress of the farmers of the Connaught, which was skilfully used by American emissaries for the purpose of sowing the seeds of discontent and revolution.

We have seen how the migratory labourer of Connaught depends upon the labour fields of England ; let us recal for a moment the relations between Ireland and America, to which considerable reference has already been made. It is hardly necessary here to state how

intimate those relations are. Of Connaught especially this is true; and there can be little doubt that, in the numerous letters which pass between friends and relations in the two countries, accounts were sent of the state of the crops, the little wages brought home from England, and the gloomy state of the country, and of the impoverished prospects of the people. Fresh demands were made upon the Irish in America for funds, and by this means communications were renewed between the Fenian politicians in America and their friends in Ireland. It was not long before it became evident that the old Fenian connections between Ireland and America were about to be freshly inaugurated; and certainly there never was a better opportunity. It was just the moment for a small band of determined agitators to make their mark upon a discontented, bankrupt, and almost hopeless peasantry. Accordingly, we find that a New Departure was set on foot by the Fenian brotherhood in America, headed by John Devoy and Michael Davitt. Before the latter end of 1878 Michael Davitt was in America, enjoying the freedom which the Government had given him as a convict on ticket-of-leave; to him and John Devoy must be attributed the founding of the Land-and-Labour Agitation. It is a well-known fact that the New Departure in Fenian politics, which these two men were instrumental in organising, was, at the outset, strongly opposed by the more violent section of the Fenian brotherhood. That section believed in the efficacy of the sword only as a means to regenerate their native land; but their efforts to crush the action of John Devoy and Michael Davitt were unsuccessful, and have, in fact, entirely ceased. The latter started for Ireland on his mission of agitation, and his arrival was duly heralded

by a long and remarkable letter from John Devoy to the *Freeman's Journal*, written from New York, and bearing date December 11th, 1878. This letter of Devoy's* is important, chiefly for its public disclosure of the New Fenian policy with regard to Ireland—a policy which has been carried out with extraordinary promptitude and skill during the past year. It was to be carried out within the limits of existing law. The whole essence of it was that the Fenians, who had hitherto abjured all methods but the sword, should take part in the ordinary political life of Ireland. The object aimed at was in this letter stated to be the recovery of Ireland's National Independence, and the severance of all political connection with England; and to gain this the whole energies, the best intellect, the financial forces, and the physical strength of the nation were to be enlisted. Devoy allowed that most of the individuals responsible for the New Departure were not only ineligible to Parliament by being convicts or ticket-of-leave men, but also incapable, on conscientious grounds, of taking the Parliamentary oath. But this mattered little. The Fenians believed there were good men enough in the country, not bound by pledges, who could be trusted to play the Fenian game in Parliament, and who would not hesitate to adopt a bold policy. That such has proved to be the case is sufficiently evident. But the most important point in the New Fenian policy was the declaration of an organised, steady, and persistent effort to get possession of the local bodies throughout Ireland. The municipal bodies, the boards of guardians, the farmers, and tenant clubs, all these were to be honey-

* The full text of this important letter is given in the Appendix to "The Irish Agitator in Parliament and on the Platform," p. 115. Hodges, Foster, and Figgis. Pp. 187. Crown 8vo. Dublin, 1880.

combed with Fenianism ; and with the majority of these in their possession, the leaders of the movement believed they could do much, which in January, 1879, they could scarcely dream of.

“With the municipal bodies,” said Devoy in his letter, “and with men of spirit and determination as Parliamentary representatives, backed by the country and by millions of the Irish race all over the world, there would be no necessity to go to London either to beg or to obstruct, and Irish Nationalists will have no more ‘Tallaghts’ or Cabbage gardens flung in their faces.” Home Rule on Mr. Butt’s federal plans was dismissed as absurd. Simple repeal would restore the Irish House of Lords—an intolerable notion. The only plan worthy of support was to form a common platform which would bind all who advocate “Self-government,” withholding a definition of that word until the country itself should speak in a manner to command the allegiance of all. So much for Devoy’s scheme for a coalition of Irish parties. By far the most important part of his manifesto, in view of the Land-and-Labour Agitation, which it preceded, was the section upon the Land Question : and here we give his own words :—

“No party or combination of parties in Ireland can ever hope to win the support of the majority of the people except it *honestly proposes a radical reform of the land system*. No matter what may be said in favour of individual landlords, the whole system was founded on robbery and fraud, and has been perpetuated by cruelty, injustice, extortion, and hatred of the people. The men who got small farms in the time of confiscation settled down in the country, and their descendants, no matter what their political party, are now ‘bone of our bone’—have become Irish—and perform a useful function in the land. No one thinks of disturbing them. If the landlords had become Irish, and treated the people with humanity, the original robbery might be forgiven—though a radical change in the tenure of land must come of itself some day ; but when, as a class, they

have simply done England's work of rooting out the Irish people ; when the history of landlordism is simply a dark story of heartless cruelty, of artificial famines, of evictions, of rags and squalid misery, there is no reason why we should forget that the system was forced upon us by England, and that the majority of the present landlords are the inheritors of the robber horde sent over by Elizabeth and James the First, by Cromwell and William of Orange, to garrison the country for England. It is the interest of Ireland that THE LAND SHOULD BE OWNED BY THOSE WHO TILL THE SOIL, and this could be reached without even inflicting hardship on those who deserve no leniency at the hands of the Irish people. A solution of the Land Question has been reached, to a large extent, in France, in Prussia, and in Belgium, by enabling the occupiers to purchase their holdings. LET THE IRISH LANDLORDS BE GIVEN A LAST CHANCE OF SETTLING THE IRISH LAND QUESTION AMICABLY IN THIS MANNER, OR WAIT FOR A SOLUTION IN WHICH THEY SHALL HAVE NO PART.

"Let a beginning be made with the absentees, the English lords and the London companies who hold stolen land in Ireland, and there will be enough of work for some years to come. Let evictions be stopped at all hazards, and the rooting-out process come to an end. But I shall be told the English Parliament will never do any of these things. Then, I say, these things must only wait till an Irish Parliament can do them better ; but in the meantime good work will have been done, sound principles inculcated, and the country aroused and organised.

"To those who are alarmed at language like this, in regard to the Land Question, I would say : 'Look at France, at Prussia, and Belgium, and you will find that the secret of their prosperity lies in the numbers of the tillers of the soil who own their holdings. Listen to the mutterings of the coming storm *in England*, and ask yourselves what is going to become of the land monopoly after a few more years of commercial or manufacturing depression—a depression sure to continue, because the causes of it are on the increase.

"The English are a very practical and a very selfish people, and will not let any fine sentiment stand in the way when they think it is their interest to re-distribute the land. What, may I ask, would become of the Irish landlords—especially the rack-renting, evicting ones—in case of a social convulsion in England ? It is a question which they themselves must decide within the next few years. With them or without them the question will be settled before long, and many who now think the foregoing assertions extravagant, will consider them very moderate indeed by-and-by."

These sentiments formed the staple of most of the speeches delivered during the past year by the Irish agitators. But they refer only to the Land Question. It

is only since the beginning of the year that what is called the Cause of Labour and Humanity has been preached openly. From time to time, towards the end of last year, Davitt occasionally threw out hints that there was something above and beyond the Land Question involved in the agitation which he was conducting. On one occasion, especially, the agitators came into collision with one of the priesthood, when they declared that their movement went hand in hand with the democracy of England; but since the release of the political prisoners on bail, they have taken up the broader question of Labour, and have dealt with it upon precisely the same lines as there laid down on the subject by the *Irish World*, an illustration of which has been given in Part II. Mr. Brennan has been especially grand in the cause of Labour and Humanity; but on Sunday, the 14th of March last, at the Meeting in the Phoenix Park, he surpassed all his former efforts, and launched forth in a diatribe against property in general which does infinite credit to his powers of adapting to an Irish audience the views of the American Labour Party. On that occasion the following resolutions were submitted to the meeting, and adopted:—

“Whereas the institution of Irish landlordism has had its origin in the subjugation of our country and the confiscation of its soil to adventurers and enemies of the people who owned it; and whereas, this great national wrong has impoverished our land by restricting its proper cultivation, and pauperised our agricultural classes by imposing a tax upon their industry in the form of unjust and exorbitant rents; and whereas, the agrarian crime which has disturbed the peace of our country is a consequence of the said spoliation and a result of the system of land monopoly which followed therefrom; be it therefore resolved, that the prosperity and contentment of Ireland *imperatively demand the speedy and final abolition of Irish landlordism.*

“That in the opinion of this meeting the cause of the existing distress, and of almost all preceding famines in Ireland, is to be

found in a system of land-law which deprives the tiller of the soil of the fruits of his labour, and which obstructs the cultivation of millions of acres of fruitful land that would otherwise produce abundance of food for a periodically starving people.

"That as the prosperity of most civilised countries is admittedly the result of land laws which have conferred the ownership of the soil upon the cultivators, and abolished the right of arbitrary disturbance, we hereby affirm our belief that nothing less than a similar system of laws for Ireland will ever insure the happiness and social well-being of her people, and give to the fruits of agricultural industry that security which is an indispensable stimulus to a people's labour, and a necessary condition of a nation's wealth.

"That while affirming our solemn conviction that the chronic destitution of our country is due to a vile and unnatural system of land laws, *maintained by an alien and hostile Government*, we desire to mark in an especial manner our lasting obligation to the people of the great American Republic, for the spontaneity of their assistance, the munificence of their contributions, and the warm and appreciative interest they have at the same time manifested, from their enlightened Legislature downwards, in the cause of Ireland as represented by her ambassador, Charles Stewart Parnell. And we also desire to express our warmest feelings of gratitude to those countries, particularly Australia, which are now extending a generous sympathy in the alleviation of the distress that has fallen upon our people.

"That as land is the source, and labour the creator, of all wealth, and as monopoly of land is alike contrary to justice and reason, and inimical to the most vital interests of a people, by defrauding them of the use of food-producing, God-created soil, and crowding cities and towns with industrious hands that should find employment in the field, thereby reducing the price of labour, we declare free land to be the cause of artisans and citizens of towns as well as that of the agricultural classes, and we call upon all who feel the injustice of under-paid toil and skill to combine in a determined effort to obtain the just rights of labour, and to demand the abolition of those laws which are responsible for the impoverishment of Ireland.

"That as the enemies of Ireland have ever turned a deaf ear to all her conciliatory pleas for justice, and have never conceded any measures for the benefit of her people except when influenced by vigorous and unflinching popular action, we hereby pledge ourselves to sustain the present land-and-labour agitation in its efforts to emancipate the soil and stem the systematic impoverishment of our country, and that we are of opinion that no more efficacious means exists for this social salvation of our people than by supporting the Irish National Land League in its efforts to organise the industrial ranks of the nation for the obtainment of free land, and to call down the con-

demnation of the civilised world upon the giant wrongs inflicted upon Ireland by England through landlordism, monopoly, and coercion."

In supporting one of them Mr. Brennan spoke as follows:—

"The resolution could be reduced to these words—'Abolition of landlordism.' Mr. Davitt had eloquently impeached that institution of high crimes and misdemeanours against the people, and he would now try to show why the people of Dublin should aid in the movement for the destruction of that accursed institution. No matter by what name they might call the movement which for the last twelve months had occupied the attention of the nation, it was really a great social movement on behalf of the rights of labour and against that system which in every walk of life robbed the worker of the profits of his labour. In Ireland, as in every other country in the world, there existed an unholy conspiracy against the rights of labour, and it was only by a unity of workers against that conspiracy that they would be able to assert their rights. It mattered not whether it were in the bogs of Connemara or in the workshops of Dublin, *wherever the toiler had to contend against the heartless landlord or the exacting capitalist*, the cause of labour was the same. They had come here to-day to express sympathy with their brothers, who were nobly struggling to assert their right to live in the land of their birth; but they came from workshops where the furnace was idle, and the rust eat its way through chisel, and anvil, and hammer. They came from workshops where work was not paid its wages, and labour would continue to be despised, and the labourer continue to be underpaid, until they recognised that they had A CAUSE IN COMMON, NOT ONLY WITH THE WORKERS OF IRELAND, BUT WITH THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD, AND JOINED THEM IN A STRUGGLE ON BEHALF OF THEIR COMMON HUMANITY. In every land the masses of the people suffered from the idleness of the few, and no matter by what means they fulfilled the divine decree of Providence, they suffered from that monopoly which gave everything to the man that idled and nothing to the man that worked. This question that they were there to advocate was no sentimental question; it was one that concerned their daily bread and very existence, and he trusted that the banner of 'The Land for the People,' first raised beyond the Shannon, and which they planted here to-day in sight of the very citadel of their enemy's power, would not be lowered till they placed it high over the ruins of the system which had depopulated their country, and was the cause of her degradation. AT PRESENT THE WORKING-CLASS WAS BUT A SERVILE POWER, WHICH HAD TO SUPPORT AND NOURISH AN IDLE CLASS; ELSE HOW CAME IT THAT THEY WHO TOILED, THEY WHOSE SWEAT

DREW FORTH THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH, WHOSE HANDICRAFT FORMED THE NECESSARIES, AND WHOSE SKILL FASHIONED THE LUXURIES OF LIFE—how came it that after all this toil they were barely able to support life, that they had to inhabit wretched homes—homes where the sunlight never came, and through which the pure air of heaven never passed, that they had to live on starvation diet, and perhaps, have their brains maddened with the cry of their youngest child as it asked for a morsel of bread, WHILE THE MEN WHO DID NOTHING, THE MEN WHO WERE OF NO BENEFIT TO SOCIETY OR THE COMMONWEALTH, THE MEN WHOSE HANDS HAD NEVER BEEN SOILED BY ANY HONEST LABOUR, ENJOYED ALL THE LUXURIES OF LIFE. Oh! there must be something wrong in the system which encourages such a state, and nothing but the ignorance and the slavery in which we have been reared prevents us from rising against it. When you understand the great truth that your labour is your own, and when you think and act for yourselves, the days of class monopoly are numbered, and the fashion which dubs the idler a gentleman must go down. ‘Man,’ said Thomas Carlyle, ‘must either work or steal;’ and we want you to see that there is a class in the community who do not work, but who live on the stolen fruits of your labour, and that it is your duty and interest to say that that class must go, and it is not alone as a matter of self-interest that we ask you to join in this movement, but we ask you on the higher ground of your country’s interest. Are you content that that country should ever occupy the menial position of a beggar among the nations? Are you content that Ireland, with a fruitful soil, with a soil capable of maintaining four times its present population—are you content that Ireland shall exist in a state of chronic misery, intensified to starvation-point every decade? Our position at present is awfully humiliating; and when we see the past history of our country reflected by the light of her present circumstances, must we not cease to wonder that in 1848 the men whose souls were fired with the passion of patriotism preferred to see their country deluged with their own blood, lost in one gallant effort to rid herself for ever of a power that was the cause of her misery, than see her people die of starvation, and her name a by-word among the nations. Too long you have suffered this, too long you have allowed others to think and act for you; learn now to think and act for yourselves. Too long you have entrusted your cause to leaders who have betrayed you, too long you looked for guidance to the blind, you sought for counsel from the dumb. Fling the vain fancy to the winds, their hour has passed, and yours has come. This is no sectarian movement; it is a movement that concerns every man that works, no matter at what altar we kneel on Sundays. The other six days of the week the heavy hand of monopoly bears down on toilers. We ask you then, men of Dublin, citizens of Dublin, workers of Dublin, to join this movement for the

destruction of Irish landlordism, and the death-knell of that system will be but the sound of the commencement of Ireland's social regeneration. While your brothers in the country are up in arms against this monopoly on behalf of the rights of man, will you stand by while they struggle? You whose interests are bound up with theirs; you suffer from the effects of the very same cause. Up, then, men of Dublin, and with liberty and labour as your watchword, strike for the emancipation of enslaved humanity."

Here at last we have the naked sentiments which the American agitators have been gradually leading their followers on to during the last twelve months. First, they commenced with reduction of rents; next, they proceeded to demand the abolition of those whose right it is to claim rent; then they denied the right of any person to claim rent: the land was made by God for the people, and they who tilled it and occupied it should alone be the owners. Last of all, the agitation is moved into the metropolis of Ireland. Land-and-Labour is now the motto of the agitation, and a coalition is attempted in which the City workers are to unite with the tillers of the soil, to wrest from the upper classes what is called the Monopoly of property. No one can be of any benefit to mankind unless he uses a spade or is engaged in a factory. All others are thieves and usurers, and all property is robbery. This is the glorious cause of Labour and Humanity: in other words, it is the first ripple in Ireland of the great wave of Socialism, which has already stirred the extreme democrats of America, and has swept over Europe from Paris to St. Petersburg. We have arrived at the climax of the land agitation. Language can go no further than that of Mr. Brennan; and no one who reads the extracts we have given from the *Irish World* can doubt that that language is inspired by the same spirit which produced Fenianism, Irish-American Journalism, and the latest phases of Parliamentary Obstruction.

The Land agitation, we repeat, is the result of a deliberate conspiracy upon the part of a few energetic, resolute, and unscrupulous Fenian Convicts. Their object in commencing the land agitation was to make it the means of attempting once more the Separation of Ireland from England. By a close and skilful study of the state of the country during the past three years, they were able to time to a nicety the opportunity of raising the standard of revolt. With confederates in Parliament, a simultaneous agitation was kept up within and without the walls of the Legislature ; and, as though to satirize the British freedom of speech and action, no opportunity was lost of assuring the public that the agitation was a purely Constitutional one. Since the days of Jack Cade and his Kentish followers, there never was a more audacious insurrection against law, order, and property ; and the success which has most certainly attended the leaders of the movement is one which will not be easily forgotten in the history of the country. But no arguments that those leaders can adduce will ever prove that the origin of the Land agitation lies in the existence of owners of property. Such a proposition is absurd, and the true causes must be looked for in the continuance of bad seasons, consequent upon an unfortunate climate, three successive bad harvests, the bankruptcy of the people, and finally, the arrival upon the scene of action of a band of conspirators pledged to revive the Fenian Conspiracy in an entirely new aspect, and bound together to carry out the great truths of the cause of Labour and Humanity.

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now endeavoured to lay before the public the chain of political facts which, I believe, connects the revolutionary attempts of 1865-7 with the present Land-and-Labour Agitation. That agitation, I have proved by the very words of Mr. Parnell, who has become the incarnation of the Irish hope of Separation from England, that the agitation is only a means to an end. That end Mr. Parnell describes as "Ireland taking her place among the nations of the world." The same idea, in various cadences, is re-echoed through the Home Rule ranks. It is the same chord, but the accentuation of it is mild or loud according to the requirements of a constituency or the courage of the politician. But there ought to be no doubt among loyal men of the true meaning of Mr. Parnell's new motto; and if any one is in doubt, he need only read Lord Beaconsfield's letter to the Duke of Marlborough announcing the dissolution of the present Parliament, and he will find the true interpretation of Mr. Parnell's dream. The words of the Prime Minister are as follows:—

"A danger, in its ultimate result scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine, and which now engages your Excellency's anxious attention, distracts Ireland. A portion of its population is attempting to sever the constitutional tie which unites it to Great Britain in that bond which has favoured the power and prosperity of both. It is to be hoped that all men of light and leading will resist this destructive doctrine. The strength of this nation depends on the unity of feeling which should pervade the United Kingdom and its widespread dependencies. The first duty of an English Minister should be to consolidate that co-operation which renders irresistible a community educated as our own in an equal love of liberty and law. And yet there are some who challenge the expe-

diency of the Imperial character of this realm. Having attempted and failed to enfeeble our colonies by this policy of decomposition, they may, perhaps, now recognise in the disintegration of the United Kingdom a mode which will not only accomplish but precipitate their purpose. The immediate dissolution of Parliament will afford an opportunity to the nation to decide upon a course which will materially influence its future fortunes and shape its destiny. Rarely in this century has there been an occasion more critical. The power of England and the peace of Europe will largely depend on the verdict of the country."

With all the prescience of a Statesman, looking beyond the clouds of the General Election, Lord Beaconsfield sees the inevitable result of such an agitation as Mr. Parnell seems determined upon propagating. What that result must be, can be easily appreciated by those who study the extracts I have given from the journalism which emanates from the real originators and propagandists of the Land-and-Labour agitation. The Fenian Conspirators with whom Mr. Parnell is associated breathe against England what Lord Beaconsfield correctly estimates as a danger in its ultimate result scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine. That danger is fire and sword ; riot and revolution ; and that these last resources are never absent from the minds of Mr. Parnell and his fellow-workers can be proved by turning to the speeches which I have given in Part II.

If anything was wanted to confirm the statesmanlike attitude of Lord Beaconsfield, upon a crisis which he himself admits will materially influence the future fortune and shape the destiny of England, it may be found in the election address of Mr. Cross. Speaking of the Home Rule movement, Mr. Cross said :—

"With regard to even an inquiry into the alleged demands of the Irish people for an Irish Parliament, the Government say, unhesitatingly, that even to hold out hope of such inquiry, if made with a serious intention, would be an act of treason against the Empire, and, if made without such serious intention, would be an act of wilful and deliberate treachery to Ireland herself."

It is as well that statements such as these should be made, in order that the classes in Ireland who are principally attacked by Mr. Parnell may feel safe of their position, and certain of the protection of the Government where life and property are concerned. The crime of the Irish gentry in the eyes of Mr. Parnell and his followers is their loyalty to England. That is a stumbling-block to his machinations, which must first be got rid of at all hazards. The landed proprietors of Ireland have long been one of the bulwarks of the English Constitution, and the whole strength of the new Fenian attack is directed against this body. This is what Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Cross mean when they stigmatise the supporters of the agitation as traitors to their Queen and Country, and the advocates of Home Rule as infected with treason to England and treachery to Ireland. It is time that it should be distinctly understood that coquetting with Home Rule is tampering with treason, and that the present Land-and-Labour Agitation is something more than sedition. From the extracts I have given there can be little doubt that in the last phase of the agitation can be discovered all the characteristics of Communism, Socialism, and Nihilism. Mr. Bigger openly proclaimed himself, on March 15th ult., an ardent Republican; and on the 21st, at the Parnell reception at Cork, is reported as having said, in responding to the toast of "The Irish Parliamentary Party"—"They had seen WHAT HARTMANN HAD DONE IN RUSSIA, and if the Constitutional course they were pursuing in Parliament at present failed in its object, HE THOUGHT IRELAND MIGHT BE ABLE TO PRODUCE ANOTHER HARTMANN, AND PROBABLY WITH BETTER RESULTS." Mr. Parnell has returned from the United States deeply imbued with Republican

ideas, and determined to push them to the uttermost. The eyes of the Irish people are turned to America, and for the third time in our history the long hopes of foreign aid seem to be reviving.

Let us turn our glance backwards from the present to the past: we find that, for three hundred years and more, the Irish have played the same wretched, hopeless game of expecting aid from foreign nations against the English: first from Spain, then from France, and finally from America.

The basis of an Irish military force in Spain was first laid about the year 1565, when an English Catholic Officer, commanding some Irish troops, amongst those sent over by Queen Elizabeth to aid the revolted Dutch Protestants against the King of Spain, carried over a regiment of Irish to the Spaniards. This officer was no Irishman, but an English Catholic of the great name of Stanley. Thenceforth, for one hundred years, the Irish Regiment in Spain kept the English in fear and the Irish in hope. Spain being crowded with Irish fugitives, driven from their ancient homes to make way for the new English plantation of Munster, they sought commands and employment in the Irish Regiment. The Irish soldiers in Spain were increased to near 40,000 men by the Parliament of England in 1654, when the exiles, driven from their estates, formed themselves into regiments, and, at the command of King Charles the Second, took service under the King of Spain; but turned over at the King's command to France, when Cromwell made an alliance with Spain.

So much for Spain: now for France. After the Battle of the Boyne and the surrender of Limerick, 19,000 Irish soldiers were allowed to retire to France. Hence came

the foundation of an Irish military force in France ; and we have it on the authentic report of the French War Office, that in one hundred years, ending in 1789, 450,000 Irish had died in the service of France. Hence came the hopes of the Irish for aid from France. All these hopes ended in 1848.

But now sprung up hopes of aid from America. As the migration of the Irish in Munster, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, laid the foundation of the Great Irish Regiment in Spain, and as the transportations of a great part of the Irish to France, in the reign of William the Third, at the capitulation of Limerick, ended in the formation of the Irish Brigade there, so in the Exodus of 250,000 Irish to America during the famine of 1845-1850 lay the seed of the present Ten Millions of American Irish, and the source of the present hopes of the Fenian Conspirators.

Can anything be more complete than this parallel? AND COMPLETE IT WILL BE TO THE END! And is it not greatly to be wondered at, that those men who have for the last fifteen years been looking to America for aid against the English Government, have not taken to heart the lesson which the history of the past, as well as that of the American Civil War should teach them. What was that Civil War but an attempt of an integral portion of the United States at Separation, first by agitation, and then by force, from the American Union? Precisely as the Northern States fought out the bitter struggle to the end with indomitable energy and obstinacy, and succeeded in crushing all attempts to sever the Union, so England, everyone may rest perfectly assured, will uphold the integrity of the United Kingdom as long as she has money, men, and ships. We would

now ask the Irish, IS THIS NEVER TO END? Are they still determined to wear out their lives and energies in hoping against hope for foreign aid, instead of turning their energies to the improvement of Ireland and their own condition, as a well recognised and important part of this great United Kingdom.

But we have here been betrayed into a common abuse of language, by addressing the discontented as "The Irish."

For years this term, "The Irish People," has been used in a manner calculated to injure the best interests of Ireland. The Fenian leaders, as their rebel predecessors of '98 and '48 had done before them, invariably called the disaffected portion of the Irish population "The Irish People;" and in order to carry on the idea, and first galvanize and then clothe this skeleton of false nationality, the Fenian paper was founded called *The Irish People*. It is unnecessary here to detail the characteristics of that journal, It was extensively used in the Fenian trials of 1865, to prove the charges of treason felony, and its articles contained precisely the same sentiments and accusations against landlords as Mr. Parnell has been busily enunciating during the past ten months in Ireland and America. But it is a gross abuse of language to address the Irish malcontents as "The Irish" or "The Irish People." It is in reality to confound the terms "People" and "Populace." Large as the numbers of the disaffected may be, most emphatically they are not the Irish nation; not even though we eliminate the Protestants of Ireland, according to the definition given by Mr. Biggar at Bermondsey, 3rd of March, 1879. There he said he meant to include in the term "Irish" all Irishmen of the Roman Catholic faith, wherever they were to be found; Protestants he did not consider Irishmen at all.

But all the noisy demonstrations, all the numbers paraded, all the speeches poured forth by demagogues and political agitators, can never make these the Irish people. There are *patent* forces and *latent* forces in every country. For some time back exclusive attention has been paid to the patent forces in Ireland, and the most conspicuous amongst them have been Land agitation, and the seditious Nationality cry. But as chemists speak of *latent heat*, so we would speak of the *latent force* that lies hidden in Ireland. It comes forward the very instant that "*The Irish*," as they call themselves, and are too carelessly called by others, step from talking into acting. No sooner is declamation changed into action than the *latent force* begins to move. Then come forward the landed gentry, both Catholic Irish and Protestant Irish ; barristers, Catholics as well as Protestants ; the merchants, the shopkeepers, the farmers, and the clergy of all denominations. All these classes, forming the most important part of the Irish People, come to the front at the inevitable crisis, to put back the loud-mouthed, presumptuous monopolists of the name of the People of Ireland. At present this large body stand at ease, listening to the flow of seditious Irish oratory. They know and rely on the force that lies in quiet behind them. There is the English Army and Navy, the Constabulary, the Militia, the Volunteers ; and in the rear of all these the Loyalists of England, Scotland, and Ireland, a thousand times stronger than these "People of Ireland." Let them get the order, or perceive the occasion for action, and all would be to the front in a moment. Where, then, would be "*The People of Ireland*," "*The Irish Nation*" ?

It is, however, the misfortune of this country that these powerful latent forces have been accustomed for so long

to be inert, while the startling irruptions of sedition and agitation attract exclusively for the moment the attention of the British public. Irish political fire-works have invariably obtained far more attention than they deserve ; and the lurid glare they have thrown upon those who set fire to them has placed in the background the dense masses of silent, solid respectability. It is greatly to be desired that the English nation should try and grasp the difference between "The Irish People" represented by the Obstructionist and Revolutionary party, and the People made up (as stated by Blackstone in his "Commentaries," and as everyone knows it to be) of the Nobility, Clergy, Lawyers, Merchants, Traders, Farmers, Workmen, and Labourers. The former represent the patent, the latter the latent, forces at work in Ireland. At present the lowest have got to the top, and the feelings of the agricultural population are swayed by veritable Jack Cades, who unite all the rough energy and zeal of English democrats with the revolutionary fervour of Parisian Communists.

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